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Apsley Straits, continuing her journey eastward until she reached her starting point at Muruplanga. On that last journey, *Mudungkala* created the Clarence Straits, thus completely separating the land of the Tiwis from the rest of Australia. 773

Before *Mudungkala* crawled southward, out of all knowledge of the Tiwi, she decreed that the bare land should be clothed with vegetation and inhabited with creatures, so that her children, whom she left behind at Muruplanga, should have food.

2. THE FIRST INHABITANTS

The two daughters of *Mudungkala*, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala*, with their brother, *Purukupali*, established themselves in the new land.

The accounts of this period are vague and indefinite, the most consistent being that *Purukupali* visited one or another of the homes of the spirit children, the *Pisipisuis*, brought some back, and gave them to his sisters, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala*, so that they could become mothers.[10] Thus the family at Muruplanga multiplied, and, although many of the genealogies are confused and unreliable, those of the main personalities appear to be consistent.

Murupiangkala, whose husband the aborigines did not remember, had one daughter, *Tukumbana*, who, in turn, married *Wilindu*.

Tukumbana had two daughters, *Wilinduela* and *Numanirakala*, and a son, *Tukimbini*. *Tukimbini's* wife, *Waia*, gave birth to one daughter, *Bima*, who became the wife of *Purukupali*. It was the death of their son, *Djinini*, that brought the creation period to a close.

Wuriupranala, whose husband was *Andjalui*, had one son, *Wuriuprinili*. The aborigines did not know who were the parents of *Tjapara*, who later quarrelled with *Purukupali*.

In those early days there was neither light nor heat, so the descendants of old *Mudungkala* had to grope around in the darkness to find their food, and having found it were forced to eat it raw.

Once two men, *Jurumu* (later the wedge-tailed eagle), and *Mudati* (the fork-tailed kite), whose parents the aborigines did not know, were rubbing two sticks together, when they noticed a speck of light where the heat, caused by the friction between the two sticks, had ignited the powdered wood-dust. [372]

[10] The aborigines, who almost certainly do not understand physical paternity, believe that the *Pisipisuis* have always existed although they could not explain their origin. In the later period of creation, it was one of the duties of *Purukupali* to bring the spirit children to his wife, *Bima*, who gave them to the women. Before he died, however, *Purukupali* told the *Pisipisuis* to seek their mothers through the medium of their fathers. [842]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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[372] Puzzled over this new phenomenon, *Jurumu* placed the smouldering wood-dust into the pith of a dead pandanus palm and blew upon it. To the surprise of both men the speck became larger and larger, finally bursting into a flame. This frightened the men so badly that they rushed to *Purukupali* and asked him to destroy the strange thing they had made. But when *Purukupali* saw the blazing wood and felt its heat he realized that *Jurumu* and *Mudati* had inadvertently discovered something that would give the aborigines not only light to dispel the darkness, but heat to cook their food and to keep them warm.[14]

Calling his sister, *Wuriupranala*, he gave her a torch of bark lit from the blazing log and told her that it was her duty to keep it alight always. *Tjapara*,
[821] who later became the moon, was given a smaller torch.

With the coming of light and heat, the descendants of *Mudungkala* spread over the island, hunting and camping in places which, at the close of the creation period, became their totemic country.

About that time, two men, *Puruti* and *Jirakati*, were spearing fish in Tiaupu, a freshwater swamp at Piper Head, near the northern entrance to Apsley Straits, when they noticed, by the movements of the stems of the water-lilies, some large creature moving about under the water.

Not knowing it was his mother, *Tipuru-undunga*, *Puruti* speared her in the
[823] neck. Screaming with pain and urinating in her fright, *Tipuru-undunga* rushed into the sea, which in those days was fresh water, polluting it so much with her blood and urine that it became as salt as the sea of today.

[825] The wounded *Tipuru-undunga* changed herself into the tall, stately bird, the jabiru (*Xenorhynchus asiaticus*) which now lives on the edge of the fresh-water lagoons; while the fishermen, *Puruti* and *Jirakati* became the sea-osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*) and the graceful white-headed sea-eagle (*Haliaetus leucogaster*).[15]

During those early *palaneri* times, a man, *Jirakupai*, lived beside a fresh-water lagoon, *Jirininga*, near Cape Fourcroy, south-western Bathurst Island. He had married two sisters, *Kuraruna* and *Jaknia*.

[411] *Jirakupai* was an expert in the making of both the large many-barbed, male spears, *tunkaringa*, which have a row of barbs on one side (Pl. 32A), and the female spears, *tunkaguni*, with their double row of barbs (Pl. 32B). Both forms are now used in the *pukamuni* rituals.

[14] The aborigines distinguish between light (*milajuka*) from the sun or burning wood, and heat (*ikwani*) from glowing coals.

[15] The large hawk-like birds, *Jirakati*, the sea-eagle, *Puruti*, the sea-osprey, and *Mudati*, the fork-tailed kite, appear as men in a number of the myths. In each case they transformed themselves from men into birds.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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(a) One of the first series, when the "workers" were appointed, which was held in the main camp. 765

(b) One of the second series, held at a ceremonial ground mid-way between the first and the place of burial.

(c) An *ilanias* performed by the Bathurst Island group who attended to take part in the final *pukamuni* rituals.

(a) *The First Ilanias*

The first series of *ilanias* was performed on a ceremonial ground, about forty feet in diameter, adjacent to *Wurarbuti's* camp. All stones and tree roots had been dug out so that the dancers would not injure their feet. In the centre of the dancing circle, or *milimika*, a fire was laid ready for the later ritual of *wandiatapinda*, or fire-jumping,[10] a ritual which was carried out at most but not all of the *ilanias* (Pl. 24B). At some of the later *ilanias*, particularly at the second *milimika*, aborigines, close relatives of the dead, performed a similar ritual by climbing a tree at the base of which others lit a fire of grass and dead leaves (Pl. 23C).

Although I suspect that the ritual of jumping over the fire once had a deeper significance, the present day belief is that the fire, by burning the hair [751] on the legs of the aborigines, protects them from stumbling over logs; from [372] their limbs becoming tired on long journeys, or from dead trees falling on them as they travel through the forest. The smoke from the fire also brought them good health. No women took part in the *wandiatapinda* rituals, although the men often held their small children in the smoke.

Wurarbuti, the ceremonial leader or *alowia* (frontispiece) of the *Waiamperi's pukamuni* rituals, was an intelligent, sophisticated aboriginal, who had worked for long periods in Darwin, and, more recently, had visited the southern States to dance before the Queen of England. 765 177

Because of his knowledge of European ways and the goods of the white man, the songs and dances of this first series of *ilanias* were a curious mixture of the old and the new cultures. Although most, if not all, of the dances performed at the *ilanias* are traditional and totemic, it is permissible to [176] modify them for the song of the moment.

The ceremony opened when the assembled aborigines, about twenty of them, standing within the *milimika*, gave the low-pitched honey call, with the high-pitched mosquito call, which precedes and finishes all *ilanias*.

[10] Spencer (1928, p. 648), saw this rite at Cockle Point, on Apsley Straits (Fig. 1), during 1911. [114]

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(iii) *The Totemic Songs and Dances.* At the completion of the meal, both the "workers" and the *pukamuni* men and women performed a series of dances to the accompaniment of traditional totemic songs. 765

Almost without exception, these songs and dances belonged to the totemic beings of Wailu, the country of *Tiparawilimiri*, the father of the dead man, *Waniamperi*.

These rituals were opened by the leader, who, standing in the centre of the *milimilka*, called out the names of the totemic beings of Wailu, *Andjahui* (fresh water), *Pukadringa* (thunderstorm), *Tomituka* (rain), and *Bumerali* (lightning). As before, the assembled aborigines shouted "*wia*" after each name was called.

The men then chanted the rain song, "The heavy rain falls and the frog calls, *poki, poki, puturuka*", while the men danced, with their fingers pointing to the ground, symbolizing falling rain (Pl. 30B), and the woman, *Prupadau*, hopped along the ground in imitation of the frog-woman,[68] *Kwouk-kwouk*. As the dance proceeded, the men and *Prupadau* all imitated the actions of the frog-woman by hopping along the ground on their hands and knees. [539] 765 535

While the dance was in progress, the leader called out "*Tomituka*" (rain). *Prupadau*, picking up a sheet of paper-bark, held it over her head and shivered, and the men, their hands clasped tightly over their heads, shouted, "*Batua, batua*" (rain finish). This completed the dance. *Pulanimbawi* danced the white-headed sea-eagle, *Jirakati* (Pl. 30J), before the *pumuti* began.

(iv) *The Pumuti.*[69] The *pumuti* rituals, which are always carried out with much goodwill, friendliness and laughter, were performed at most, if not all, of the *ilanias*, and, in a restricted form, at the final *pukamuni*. 765

At some stage, usually toward the end of the *ilania*, sometimes more than once, each man and woman, taking a bunch of leaves, or a roll of paper-bark and calling softly "*Ooh, ooh, ooh*", beat the wife, or husband, sisters, brothers, and all the near relatives of that particular spouse.

(v) *The Rite of Fire-jumping and the sending out of the Message Sticks.* The rite of fire-jumping, or *wandiatapinda*, carried out in the second series of *ilanias*, differed from that in the first series. Instead of the participants stepping over a fire (Pl. 24B), a number of the close relatives climbed a tree at the base of which others lit a fire of grass and leaves (Pl. 23C). As each man 765 372

[68] The frog-woman, whose totemic place is Wailu, north-eastern Melville Island, is the mother of *Pukadringa*, *Tomituka* and *Bumerali*.

[69] This ritual would tend to reduce tensions between the spouse and his, or her, relatives, which is considerable in some communities. [593] [578]

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765 slipped down the tree and jumped clear of the fire, the other participants
●372 called his totemic name.

Toward the end of this series of *ilanias*, the "workers" announced that they had finished cutting the poles. The leader, the *aleawia*, hearing this, gave permission for the poles to be "cooked", i.e., burnt in a fire of blazing boughs, to provide a black ground on which to paint the designs. The leader
[202] also ordered that the *purunkinas* (message sticks, Figs. 5, 6, 7), be sent out to the various totemic groups. These sticks intimated that the final *pukamani* ceremonies would take place in about twenty days.

765 (c) *The Bathurst Island Ilanias*

About a week before the final burial rituals of *Waniamperi*, a number of aborigines from Bathurst Island, accompanied by their wives and *Kaopi*, the son of the dead man, made their camp and cleared a ceremonial ground not far from the second *milimika* used by the Melville Island people.

The Bathurst Island *ilanias*, under the leadership of an elderly aboriginal, *Jibungliakumi*, followed the traditional form, except that the first two phases were omitted, i.e., the fighting and the feeding of the "workers".

Three groups of songs were chanted to the accompaniment of the appropriate dances.

(i) The *Ningaui* songs and dances.
(ii) The mission lugger songs and dances.
(iii) The jabiru (*Tjalasi*) songs and dances.

(i) *The Ningaui Songs and Dances*

533 The leader, *Jibungliakumi*, and his companions chanted the following
539 *Ningaui* songs. These are the literal translations.
765 "I am the head man of the *Ningaui*, I am, Eeh, Eeh."[87]

"I push aside the mangrove branches with my hands, Eeh, Eeh."

"The *Ningauis* are out hunting. The calls of the white cockatoos tell them that someone is coming, Eeh, Eeh."

A *Ningaui* woman, having just given birth to a child, sings—

"The flies are looking at me, the flies are crawling on my shoulder, Eeh, Eeh."

A *Ningaui* man, looking at his newly born child, sings—

"Little new-born man lying on the ground, Eeh, Eeh."

[825] [87] This is the call of the *Ningauis* which, the aborigines claim, they hear in the mangrove swamps of south-western Bathurst Island. It is possibly the call of one of the swamp birds.

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88] iii. The *Marukumunis* were fed behind their bark shelter and the *Wadjeniatis* in the open camp.

(a) *The Opening Rituals*

After dark, on the day following the ceremonial eating of the edible yam, the fully initiated *kulama* men, and all people above the grade of *Mikinatrina*, prepared for the opening ceremony by clearing an oval about fourteen feet long and six feet wide. The *Marukumuni* initiates were brought from their hiding place, the *Wadjeniatis* from their camp and both were seated just outside the ceremonial ground. Neither of those grades, however, took part in the opening rituals.

[372] [753] In the middle of the ceremonial ground were two smouldering logs, but no flames, for fear of attracting *taini*, the *kulama* sickness. Among the trees outside of the ring, were a number of families of uninitiated men, women and children.

Normally the *kulama* party would have been made up of *Mikintaras*, *Mikiatarimas* and *Mikingulas*, and the songs chanted by the men in that order.

177 533 881 539 On the occasion of our visit the ceremony opened when a *Mikingula*, *Wurarbuti*, seated on the ground, beating his throwing sticks, started to hum a song softly. Becoming more confident, he stood up, and pacing backward and forward still beating his sticks, chanted the following three songs.[35]

(*a*) "My father was king, therefore I am the Prince of Wales. As King George was King, so was the old man on the hill, my (dead) father. I will have warships, money and a flag of red and white." When the singer mentioned his dead father there was a high-pitched wail among the near relatives.

(*b*) The second song dealt with the invitation he had received to dance before the Queen of England. "When the Queen was in England, she said 'I would like to see a black-fellow dance', and so I went up. King Philip watched me a lot while I danced."

(*c*) "My uncle in Darwin said to me 'Why haven't you made a lot of *pukamuni* arm rings. If you don't soon do so, you'll cause a lot of trouble among the *pukamuni* people."

Muramajua also chanted three songs;

(*a*) In the first, of which I did not collect the words, he explained, at length,

[35] This man, who was the ceremonial leader of the *pukamuni* ceremony, described earlier, had been invited, only a few months previously, to visit the southern States, and dance before the Queen of England. Naturally, this left such a strong impression on his mind that many of his songs dealt with that remarkable experience.

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881 led by the *Mikinatrinas*, carrying the baskets, followed by the *Mikinataras*, the *Mikinatarimas*, and the *Mikingulas*. No *kulama* woman accompanied this party.

As the *kulama* men entered the jungle they separated, each searching for vines which indicated the presence of the yam.[80] Before digging, however, the [824] [753] *kulama* men, softly calling "Oom-oom", gently patted the ground to wake up the yams, for, should any yam get a fright, its spirit, becoming annoyed, would make everyone ill with the *kulama* sickness. When digging the yams, the men were most careful not to break even one of the fine roots (Pl. 44D).

On filling in the holes, the men again made the thunder call, "Oom-oom", [821] which, they said, would cause more rain to fall before the day was over. One aboriginal accidentally broke a *kulama* yam while digging it. Instantly, he was on his feet, and, with the broken yam in his palm, dodged in and out among the trees, to escape the spirit of sickness released by the angry yam. After a few minutes, however, he returned, placed the broken yam carefully in the basket with the rest, and resumed his digging. His companions said that it was fortunate that he had only damaged the yam slightly, otherwise, its spirit would have made not only the careless aboriginal, but all of the *kulama* people ill.

When sufficient yams were collected, the party returned to camp in the same order as they went out, i.e., *Mikinatrinas*, *Mikinataras*, *Mikinatarimas* and *Mikingulas*. The *Mikinatrinas* carried the yams to the foot of a blood-wood tree, called the *wuringalata*, cleared the grass from around the base and, taking the yams from the basket, placed them on the ground. They were covered with leaves by the female initiates, the *Mikinatriningas*.

(4) *The Preparation of the Ceremonial Ground*

In the late afternoon, the *kulama* men and the male initiates, excluding the *Marukumuni* and the *W'adjeniatis*, prepared the ceremonial ground, the *milimika*.

372 The men walked toward an open space in the forest, and with low cries, 881 beat the ground with sticks, while the leader, pulling up a tuft of grass, threw it into the air. At the place where it fell, the men dug a small circle, the *tumarapi* (navel), in which the yams were to be cooked. Then, sitting down, the men pushed the sand and grass outwards with their feet until the *milimika*, about fifteen feet in diameter, was cleared and surrounded by a low mound of earth and grass.

[222] [197] [80] The *kulama* yam (*Dioscorea sativa*, variety *rotunda*) (Pl. 44D), is about the size of a hen's egg and covered with hairs similar to a beard. It is held in the palm of the hand until it is placed carefully in the bark basket.

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Dry sticks, about three feet in length, were pushed upright into the ground around the *tuwarapi* (oven), kindling wood was laid between them, other pieces of dried wood piled cross-wise between the uprights until there was a stack about three feet high (Pl. 45A).

(5) *Placing the Uncooked Yams in Water*

About sunset, the *kulama* men went to the bloodwood tree, the *wuringalota*, where the *Mikinawiuni* had stored the yams in the morning and, on pulling bushes away, revealed some of the male and female *Marukumuni* initiates squatting, holding in their arms a basket of the uncooked *kulama* yams. The *Marukumuni* initiates took the yams to the water, everyone assisting in laying them on a pad of grass in the bed of the stream (Pl. 46B).

Immediately this task was completed, the *kulama* men pushed the *Marukumuni* initiates over,[80] and, holding them by the legs and arms dragged them backward and forward through the now muddy water to wash off their body paint. They were then taken back to camp, seated beside the *milimika* and painted with a different pattern (Pl. 42F). Neither the *Marukumuni* nor the *Wadjenini* initiates took any further part in the rituals of that day. When, after dark, the *kulama* men entered the *milimika* to chant another series of songs, the camp fires were allowed to burn brightly, because the aborigines said that the yams, being in the water, were now "quiet" so that there was no fear of *taini*, the spirit of *kulama* sickness.

The chanting men walked counter-clockwise around the *milimika* because *Purujikini* did so at the first *kulama*. To have walked in the opposite direction, even then, would have made the spirit of the *kulama* yam angry.

The following are literal translations of a selection of the songs.

(*a*) "I had a quarrel with Tom Crow, the Superintendent of Snake Bay Settlement."

(*b*) "My mother-in-law is good to me, she did not take away my promised wife."

(*c*) "The fruit of the *binamia* (*Eugenia* sp.) ripens and falls to the ground."

(*d*) "The little *Pitipituis* (spirit children) are dancing on the beach."

[80] Spencer, 1928, p. 664, describing a similar ritual, states, "Several old men seized the *Wapinyeri* (my *Wadjenini*), and plunged into the water with him. As many as could get near him gripped him by the legs and arms, and yelling, splashing and churning up the mud, . . . dragged him backward and forward several times, . . . As soon as the *Wapinyeri* were released, the men turned their attention to the *Marukumuni* boys. . . ." Although my informants did not say so it is likely that the *Wadjenini* initiates were also pushed into the water to remove their body paint in readiness for the second design of a *Mikinawiua* (Pl. 42J).

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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A B C D

PLATE 45. *The Kulama Ceremony*
A, Building the Kulama Fire; B, Placing the Kulama Yams in Water; C, Pressing Heated Sand against Joints; D, Deserted Kulama Oven.

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304 In a few instances, a horizontal row of small circular scars was noticed beneath the cicatrices of the chest, extending from the axillar to the sternal-line, on one half of the body only. They appeared to have been burned into the skin by the heated end of a fire-stick[1] (*vide* Fig. 2, A).

Circumcision not practised.

304 101 171 681 Circumcision is not, as elsewhere in Australia, one of the attendant mutilations during the ceremonies of initiation, at the age of puberty. No cases were noted either on Bathurst or Melville Island. In this respect the Islanders resemble the fast disappearing Larrekiyas of the Port Darwin district and certain other tribes of Cape York and the adjoining islands.[2]

302 516 The pubic hairs are removed by "pulling them out" with the hand in the same way as the upper lip is cleared of its growth. While standing in conversation, the natives have acquired a peculiar habit of pushing the penis back between the thighs and keeping it from view by crossing one leg over the other.

Habitations.

342 The islanders build no permanent huts or structures to live under. Apart from the shelters afforded by local or natural conditions, such as overhanging trees, the only form of artificial shelter noticed was prepared from the bark of a tree. A long sheet is cut from the trunk and doubled crosswise at its centre. The two ends are then stuck into the ground at an angle of say forty-five degrees. Similar shelters are found on the north coast and elsewhere on the mainland. In the [101] absence of any more permanent structures, the islanders are, in this respect, not so far advanced as the continental Australian aboriginal. 372 Camp fires are, as usual, much in evidence and kept alight during the whole of the night. Fire-sticks are carried during the day time. Sticks and dry timber, collected to feed the fires, are broken to the required length, not across the knee but over the crown of the head. 513 Small sheets of paper bark (*Melaleuca sp.*) are used as mats to lie on when sleeping or camping.

Personal Wear.

291 302 Both male and female walk about in the nude state. The body is anointed with grease and besmeared, in one or more shades of colour, with ochre. The females carry folded sheets of paper bark or large food-carriers about with them, which, upon the approach of strangers, they hold in front of their person.

[171] It is of interest here to note that Captain Matthew Flinders,[3] as far back as 1803, made a similar observation on the mainland opposite. He saw a girl at Caledon Bay who "wore a small piece of bark, in guise of a fig leaf, which was the sole approximation to clothing seen."

[1] *Vide* also *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 10.
[2] *Cf.* J. MacGillivray, *Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* p. 14.
[3] *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, London, 1814, vol. ii, p. 212.

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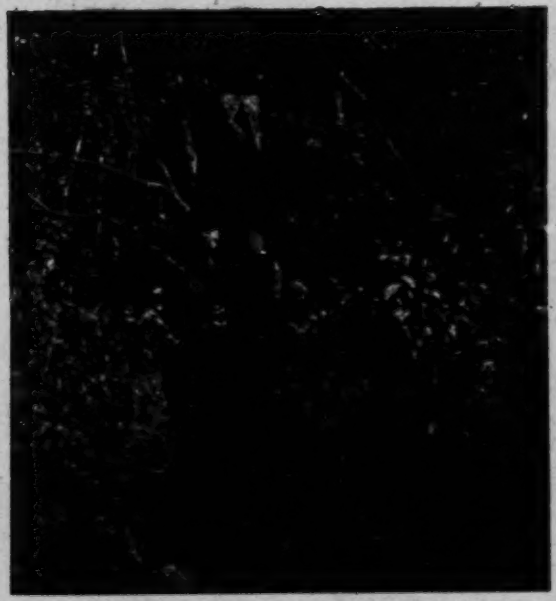
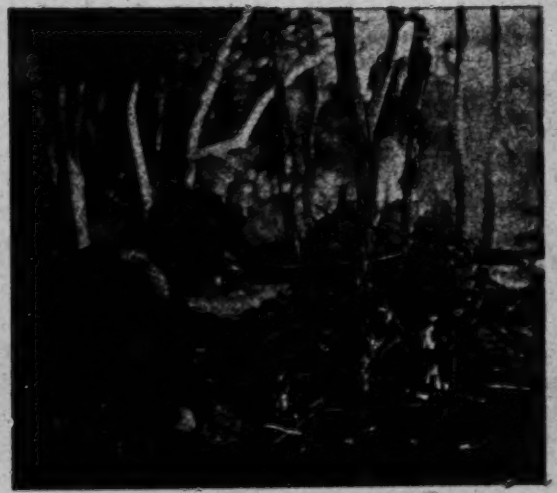
Young girl and boy accompany fathers as men bring yams from pool to the ceremonial ring. There the yams will be

[R. 15, (A)]



baked by placing them atop pieces of anthill heated to a glow by wood fire, then covering the yams with hot earth.



MAN LIGHTS FIRE beneath chunks of anthill. When the pieces are red-hot, burning wood below them will be brushed away.

11,Goodale F-6 (1954, 1960) 1963 CBS Third CBS0

123 meat, lukewarm tea, and the remains of the fresh bread smothered in jam for dessert.

The sky by this time was growing dark for thick, heavily laden clouds were fast building up. With what light remained from the setting sun we shifted camp to a small hollow in the dunes, free from the prickly seed pods and protected from the wind. Soon it was quite dark and the wind seemed to blow more strongly. Albert, afraid for the safety of the canoe, decided to remove it to the quiet waters of the little creek where Big Jack had found the crabs. Big Jack accompanied him and while they were gone Agnes prepared to make some "damper." She built the fire up again so that the 123 ground would become very hot. While it was burning down she 252 took the bag of flour, opened it, and made a small depression in the contents. Into this hole she poured baking powder, salt, and 372 water from the billy. (Quite often the first two ingredients are 484 omitted.) With both hands still in the bag she worked the mixture into a large lump of dough which she removed and flattened on the outside of the flour bag. By this time the fire had again burned down, and the burning coals were brushed aside and a hole scooped out in the hot sand. The damper, about the size of a large frying pan, was laid in the hole and covered over with more hot sand. "Tomorrow, we make quick breakfast and no stop for lunch," she explained. In about an hour, during which the damper had been turned once, it was removed and the sand brushed from the rough, tough surface. It was then carefully wrapped in a piece of calico and put away in safety.

It was only then that we realized that the men had not returned. 123 Agnes became quite worried, and I must confess I did also. We walked down to the water's edge and called out, but could hear no reply over the roar of the waves, and because of the inky blackness we could see only a few yards. After about ten minutes we returned to the camp and in a brief time both men appeared. Agnes immediately demanded to know why, if they were so close, they didn't answer our calls? Albert insisted that he had replied, so after a while Agnes changed her question to why had it taken them [481] so long? "Water bin come in long way," Albert replied, "I swim out; take long time find him canoe." When one considers that,

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

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Fig. 7. Agnes (left) and a friend admire a large mangrove crab

together with sharks, these waters contain the large and dangerous salt-water crocodile and all manner of poisonous jellyfish, one realizes that to swim around in a high sea in the pitch dark requires considerable courage. 123

Soon after we had crawled under the mosquito netting and between the blankets rain began to fall in a gentle and persistent way, but still not hard enough to prevent our falling asleep with little conversation.

It was hardly light the next morning when Agnes stood up and rewrapped her *naga*, a strip of calico, about her waist, then took up the billys and went to the well to draw water for the morning tea. Although the rain had been steady during the night, the well-built fire still had some life in it and after a few minutes of concentrated blowing, Albert had it rejuvenated. While the billy boiled, Big Jack shook as much of the wet sand as was possible from the blankets and rolled them into tight bundles. Then he set off to retrieve the canoe. By the time he reappeared, the tea was ready and it helped to wash down the leathery cold strips of damper sweetened with jam. [291] [372]